Use of Ancient Spolia to Make Personal and Political Statements: William of Moerbeke's Church at Merbaka (Ayia Triada, Argolida).

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"Congruit autem sacrificia immittentes facere magnifica, et praeparare aliquid communium ut iis quae circa conviviatones, participet populous, et civitatem videns ornatam, haec quidem sursum suspensis, haec autem aedificiis, gaudens videat manentem politiam" F. Susemihl, *Aristotles Politicorum libri octo, cum vetusta translatione Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, Leipzig 1782 p. 492.

Outside Ayia Triada, once Merbaka, in the Argolid lies one of the best preserved and finest medieval churches in Greece (Figs. 1-4, 9).[1] Dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos, stylistically this building belongs to Millet's domed, inscribed cross category. [2] Aside from its trim proportions and cloisonné masonry, the church is remarkable both for the spolia from which it is built and for the glazed ceramic bowls which adorn the upper portions of the exterior. While much of the spolia originated at the sanctuary of Hera (the Argive Heraion), seven kilometers to the northwest, some also may have come from ancient Argos a similar distance to the west (Fig. 5). In addition to the many undecorated architectural blocks borrowed from these ancient sites are two inscriptions and three figural reliefs. Unlike the local spolia used in its construction, the squared limestone blocks of the upper walls are Corinthian stone and the ceramic bowls (Figs. 5 - 8) embedded in the exterior were imported from two

[1] This paper formed the core of a presentation at a conference entitled "Being Peloponnesian: Cohesion and Diversity through Time" at the Peloponnesian Center of the University of Nottingham in the Fall of 2007 with the title 'Centre and periphery in the Medieval Peloponnese: The excavated evidence from Corinth, Sparta and Ayios Stephanos'. It was subsequently presented in a more refined form entitled 'Merbaka: a Monument to Romanization and its importance to the Archaeology of Medieval Greece' at the "Half a Century on the Isthmus" conference honoring Paul Clement and Oscar Broneer in Cotsen Hall at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA), in June 2007. The church at Merbaka has seldom been far from my thoughts over the past 25 years since it first caught my imagination, see Sanders 1986 and 1987, Over these decades my ideas have developed in fits and starts and I am grateful to all the Regular Members, Associates, Senior Associates and colleagues at the ASCSA who have listened to my presentations on Merbaka during the annual autumn trip to the Argolid and Corinthia over the past fifteen years. I have benefitted from conversations with my dear friend Dr. P. Armstrong, especially those relating to Ayia Moni and how ecclesiastical documents may not be all that they appear to be. I am grateful to Professors A. Alexakis, S. Ćurčić, J, Davis, K. Kourelis, A. Papalexiou, and Drs. D. Athanassoulis and N. Bookidis, who have been interested readers and have made valuable comments. My greatest thanks are due to Sarah James, Isabel Sanders and Dr. Jan Sanders who must by now all be sick of both Merbaka and Moerbeke. Much of the sense and order of this paper are due to their great intelligence and editorial skills. The errors are, of course, my own.

The bibliography would not be complete without reference to the doctoral dissertation of Mary Lee Coulson (2002). Coulson and I have discussed the church, particularly the date of the pottery, see Coulson 1992, on occasion over many years. Mary Lee heard the essential content of this paper when she attended the conference at Cotsen Hall in 2007. We seem to concur on certain essential points, for instance that the church has something to do with William of Moerbeke, but not on others. Much to my regret I have not access to her dissertation which she is now preparing for final publication.

[2] Millet 1916, p. 56.

distant locations. The metal oxide painted, tin glazed Protomaiolica (Fig. 7) comes from Southern Italy and the lead glazed, Zeuxippus style sgraffito (Fig. 8) probably comes from a center in the Northeast Aegean. During the last hundred years three issues have been a perennial cause for academic concern: the seemingly remote location of this elaborate church on the East side of the Argive Plain; the date of the immured pottery and its construction date. The use of ancient spolia in this church has amused *flâneurs* since the time if Cyriacus of Ancona in the 15th century and recently some have pondered the identity of the patron, how the patron intended the spolia to be understood by the viewer and how the viewer's reading would have changed through time. In this essay I intend to demonstrate that the church at Merbaka was built by William of Moerbeke, bishop of Corinth between 1278 until his death in 1285, on the main road from Corinth to Nauplion. I will also argue that the spolia refer specifically to the canons of the Second Council of Lyons which, *de jure*, reunited the Church and universalized the *filioque* clause in the Creed.

Location

The first question, why this architectural masterpiece is incongruously set in a rural backwater, is the least problematic. It results from the assumption that the modern communications system has remained unchanged through time. Although the inter-nodal routes are topographically defined, the traffic they carry and the importance of the centers they connect have altered over the centuries. In the period of Ottoman rule, for instance, the Morea was a remote province of a huge empire. The main road from Istanbul to Tripolis, the largest city in the Peloponnese, ran via Argos which was the most populous local center.[3] This road was a carriage and post road which avoided steep, tortuous routes and between the Isthmus and Argos, it traversed the Ayios Vasilios plain and descended via the Dervenaki pass into the Argive Plain.[4] Near Kharvati (modern Mycenae) it bifurcated with one branch continuing to Argos and the other to Nauplion via Chonika and Merbaka (Fig. 9). Pedestrian traffic and trains of mules and donkeys could take more direct mountain passes (Fig. 10). After the War of Independence, Greece was an entity no larger than the Roman province of Achaea. When Athens was chosen as its new capital for pseudo-historical reasons when a more centrally placed capital looking both east and west was more rational, Tripolis lost its administrative role.[5]The new nation had strong commercial links with the West and by the late 19th century, once the Peloponnesian railway and the Corinth canal were built, Corinth became a major node located between the capital and its political and economic partners. The railway from Corinth to Argos followed the shallowest grade and, for much of its course, ran alongside the old Ottoman carriage road to Argos and thence to Nauplion.[6] It is only recently, since the Ottoman period, that the eastern half of the Argive plain and Merbaka have been isolated and of little interest to administrators, commercial travelers and tourists.[7]

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[3] Sanders and Whitbread 1990.
[4] Gell 1817, pp. 157, 160. This route is described by Marchand 2009. In antiquity this was an important carriage road connecting Corinth with Cleonae, Argos and Nemea. No doubt it was also a Mycenean road for wheeled traffic from Corinth to Mycenae.
[5] Obviously Corinth would have been the economic geographer's choice. Fortunately for those living there today it was briefly considered and rejected.
[6] At the Isthmus, the railway diverges following the shallower eastern ascent into the Ayios Vasilios plain before meeting the carriage road at the north entrance to the Dervenaki Pass.
[7] Today the road goes directly to Nauplion from the Dervenaki bypassing Argos and every village in the plain.

In the Medieval period the routes seem to have been the same or similar to those in use during the Ottoman period. Small Medieval castles and towers guarding the northern end of the passes through the mountains between Corinthia and the Argive Plain, indicate that these passes were important for communications in the Medieval period.[8] In the late Byzantine and Frankish periods the majority of land traffic consisted of pedestrians, riders and pack animals rather than wheeled vehicles. Such traffic used the most direct routes from the Corinthian and Saronic coasts to Argos and Nauplion. These were via the steep passes of Ayionori and Angelokastro which converge in the Berbati valley. Beyond the Klissoura Gorge at the mouth of the valley, the road bifurcated with branches running directly to Argos and to Nauplion (Fig. 10).[9] When it was built, the church at Merbaka stood in a prominent position on the direct road to Nauplion. Similarly, another church apparently stranded by the modern road system today, the Dormition of the Virgin Mary at Chonika, originally stood on the direct road from the Klissoura to Argos.

Pottery Chronology

The second issue, the date of the church's construction, is complicated and the evidence embraces architectural style, historical documents and the immured pottery. This chronological debate originated in 1909 when Adolf Struck noted the architectural similarity of the church at Merbaka to the Catholicon of Ayia Moni at Areia near Nauplion, apparently dated by an immured inscription to 1149. Although Struck acknowledged that Merbaka may have been named after William of Moerbeke, he believed that the village was originally called Bouzi where Bishop Leo of Argos built a convent for nuns formerly housed at Areia near Nauplion where they would be safe from piratical raids (Fig. 9). Struck read Bishop Leo's *Memorandum* to imply that the new convent predated the Catholicon of Ayia Moni, completed in 1149, and dated Merbaka church *ca*. 1140.[10]

Struck's conclusions were not considered entirely satisfactory and they encouraged art historians, architectural historians and archaeologists to bring their respective skills to bear on the question. Their hope was that new interpretations would resolve issues pertinent to their own individual disciplines. Peter Megaw studied the decorative and architectural details of 37 medieval churches in Greece and proposed a stylistic typological sequence and relative chronology which he keyed into an absolute chronology based on the limited external evidence such as inscriptions and monastic documents. Megaw concluded that the architectural detail of Merbaka appeared to be stylistically later and not earlier than Ayia Moni. In his scheme Megaw placed Merbaka with the Dormition at Vlachernae in Elis and after the Dormition at Gastouni, also in Elis, which he dated in the third quarter of the 12th century.[11] Some scholars contested details of Megaw's typology and chronology and yet it became the accepted standard by which Byzantine churches in southern Greece were thereafter dated. Three decades later Megaw returned to Merbaka and Gastouni to consider the identity and date of the pottery embedded in their walls. In both of these churches,

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[8] For instance at Ayionori, Angelokastro and above Ayios Vasilios. Kardulias, Gregory and Dann, 1997, pp. 54-8.

[9] See Wells 2002, pp. 69-76 and Kourinou-Pikoulas and Pikoulas 1988, pp. 227-31 for the main pedestrian road between Corinth and Argos via the Berbati valley.

[10] Struck 1909, pp. 210-10, 230, 233, for the Memorandum, see Talbot 2000, pp 964-70.

[11] Megaw 1931-32, pp. 94-5, 99-129. This study was the product of a fellowship from the Royal Institute for British Architects which enabled Megaw to learn Byzantine church architecture at first hand.

Protomaiolica and Zeuxippus style sgraffito bowls highlight architectural features of their exterior walls (Figs. 7, 8). Since the mortar fixing the bowls in place is identical to and continuous with the mortar between the masonry, Megaw concluded that the bowls were immured at the time when the churches were built and, faithful to his original chronology, he dated the pottery to the late 12th century.[12]

By using his stylistic date for both Merbaka and Gastouni to date the immured pottery, Megaw fixed a point for the production and use of Protomaiolica and Zeuxippus Ware beginning in the late 12th century, a date which came to be widely accepted. This was apparently confirmed by finds of Protomaiolica in pre-destruction horizons at the castle of Saranda Kolonnes at Paphos in Cyprus. The archaeological remains of Saranda Kolonnes suggest that the castle was flattened by a powerful earthquake. Megaw, who excavated the castle, believed that the earthquake was one recorded by Oliverus Scholasticus in 1222.[13] Furthermore excavations at Brindisi in southern Italy produced evidence for the manufacture of Protomaiolica in levels also thought to be early 13th century.[14] David Whitehouse used this evidence to suggest that Protomaiolica was first developed in the northeast Peloponnese in the late 12th century and that the technology was subsequently adopted in southern Italy in the early 13th century.[15] On the other hand, a growing body of increasingly objective evidence from Corinth stressed that Protomaiolica of the type decorating Merbaka and Gastouni, “Grid Iron” in the old nomenclature and “Brindisi Type I” in the new, belonged in the third and fourth quarters of the 13th century.[16] Since the earliest types of Protomaiolica in Corinth deposits were in contexts dating no earlier than the 3rd quarter of the century it is likely that the importation of southern Italian pottery began “in the third quarter of the (13th) century (and) probably reflects… the assertion and consolidation of Angevin power in the Peloponnese”.[17] This conclusion not only raised serious questions about the accepted date of the church at Merbaka and but also allowed for the possibility that William of Moerbeke was the patron.[18] Obviously the Corinth data does not square with that from Saranda Kolonnes and Brindisi or with Megaw’s date for Merbaka, Vlachernae and Gastouni. Scholarship is, therefore, divided between those who favor an early date and those who are convinced by the quality and sheer quantity of the Corinth data. Since the Corinth evidence has been so fully and transparently published, the case made by scholars working in Cyprus and Italy should be examined more critically.

The Saranda Kolonnes destruction date has now been questioned by Marie-Louise von Wartburg. She acknowledged that Saranda Kolonnes was probably destroyed by an earthquake but not by one in May of 1222. She observed that Oliverus Scholasticus was not a firsthand witness but had actually returned to

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[12] Megaw 1964, pp. 145-62.

[13] Megaw 1972, pp. 327, n. 15 referring to Hoogeweg 1894, p. 279 Oliverus Scholasticus in his *Historia Damiatina*

[14] Patitucci Uggeri 1976 and 1979.

[15] Whitehouse 1980.

[16] MacKay 1967, pp. 257-61; Nicolacopoulos 1981, pp. 160-78 who dated “Grid Iron” between 1250 and 1300 but did not refer to the Corinth data; Sanders 1987 and Sanders 1989, pp. 191-92 pinned the date in the last quarter of the 13th century and Williams and Zervos 1995, p. 21; Williams, Snyder, Barnes and Zervos 1998, p. 261 reinforced this dating and showed that “Grid Iron” in its final forms continued into the early 14th century.

[17] Sanders 1989, pp. 191-92; Sanders 1987, p. 192.

[18] Although Theodora MacKay did not mention Merbaka in her discussion of the Corinth contexts she published, Pierre MacKay, Camilla MacKay and Diana Wright have all independently informed me that she fully understood the significance of her conclusions for Merbaka’s construction date. Nicolakopoulos 1981, pp. 160-78; Sanders 1987, p. 169 and Sanders 1989, pp. 191-92.

Germany before the earthquake was said to have happened.[19] Favoring the evidence for a late date of the pottery types found in the pre-destruction contexts, von Wartberg suggested that the earthquake was actually one documented by both Florio Bustron and Francesco Amadi in 1267/8.[20] This reconsideration of the date of Saranda Kolonnes' destruction makes a deposit of five coins found together beneath one of the floors onto which the earthquake debris fell become much more significant. The latest coin is one minted by Henry I of Cyprus (1218-53).[21] On the death of Hugh in 1218, his heir Henry was only eight months old and was not crowned until 1225. During his minority (1218-32), Henry was not legally permitted to mint coinage and it is likely that very few if any Cypriot coins were issued and even then probably not in his name.[22] If the coin, which has yet to be published, is in fine condition, it may have been deposited soon after it was minted, in other words no earlier than 1232. If in less fine condition, it was probably deposited even longer after the alleged 1222 destruction and well after the 1232 date of the first minted coins of Henry I. Both these threads of evidence suggest that Saranda Kolonnes was not completed until after the alleged 1222 earthquake. If destroyed in 1267/8 the pottery found in the destruction horizon is over 40 years later than Megaw thought.[23] There was no Grid Iron among the small quantities of Protomaiolica found; it all appears to be of a type anterior to Grid Iron.[24]

Several Italian scholars have steadfastly rejected the Corinth chronology for Protomaiolica and Zeuxippus Ware preferring the evidence from Italian sites and citing earlier publications from Greece. Sauro Gelichi and Gabriella Berti summarized these objections concisely:

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[19] von Wartburg 2001, who observes that the chronicler was embellishing, somewhat dramatically, the tumultuous events leading up to the siege of Damietta and its aftermath.

[20] von Wartburg 2001, pp. 131, 134. Sanders 2003, Fig. 23.2 and Table 23.3 dates the Saranda Kolones pre-earthquake pottery (Megaw 1972 Pls. 28, 31, 33) to the mid-13th century.

[21] Megaw 1972, p. 329: Megaw postulated that if the castle was built in the late 12th century, these coins may have formed a small hoard buried in the floor towards the end of the brief span of years during which the castle was occupied. Megaw also admits that the coins appear to be below the floor and that they may well date the construction and occupation of the castle much later than he had previously envisioned. "for if not, it would give an almost impossibly late date to the construction of the small room, since its walls rest on the brown layer in which the coins were buried. If, however, the coins are not intrusive but do date the layer next above the construction surface to ca. 1220, it could be argued that the date of the initial building of the castle may not have been very long before that."

[22] Metcalf 1995, pp. 193-4. Henry was crowned king of Cyprus in 1225 at the age of seven, see Furber 1969, pp. 605-6. Metcalf and Jacobowitz 1996, p. 246 suggest that rare anonymous deniers were minted during Henry's minority and then perhaps only in or after 1224. See too Metcalf 1997pp. 139-40. In a circular argument Rosser 2007 pp. XX, replying to von Wartburg, makes several assertions about the date of the pottery in the pre-destruction contexts for which the assumed destruction of Saranda Kolones in 1222 is the only evidence cited ignoring newer and fresher evidence, for instance from Corinth. Rosser makes no mention of the coin of Henry I preferring Megaw 1972b, which covered the 1966-67 seasons, pp. 135-6 where the coin is identified as Hugh I to Megaw 1972a p. 329 where the coin is identified as Henry I and the author is concerned by its significance.

[23] Having excavated the entire western half of the south moat at Saranda Kolonnes, including the collapsed remains of the bridge across to the entrance, I can confirm that the event which destroyed the castle was huge. The entire length of this stretch of the moat was filled with cut blocks which fell from the castle walls and I very much doubt that anything remained habitable after the earthquake. Having said that Archaeologists often misunderstand how variable the destruction caused by any given event may be. A severe event can weaken a building's structure, yet leaving it functional, only for it to collapse later in a much lesser earthquake.

[24] See Sanders 1986, fig 4 for a more or less contemporary vessel showing its chronological relationship to Grid Iron.

> "With the exception of the bell tower of S. Stefano in Carrara Santo Stefano, the precise dates of foundation of the churches bearing the ceramics mentioned above are still uncertain. However, their association, on the façade of S. Maria di Castagnola, with Protomaiolica of Brindisi Group I suggests, as far as the Marche context is concerned, a chronology within the first half of the thirteenth century. In spite of the perplexity of … the dating of the Merbaka Panaghia, and consequently of proto-maiolica with the so called "gridiron" decoration, there are no sufficiently valid reasons for dating their production back (i.e. later) by half a century, because there exists ample evidence that they were in use around the beginning of the thirteenth century, as previously proposed and proven by testimonies from S. Pietro degli Schiavoni in Brindisi, Panaghia Catholiki in Gastouni, and some Pisan contexts."[25]

With the exception of Merbaka, each of these "proven testimonies" needs to be briefly addressed.

At S. Pietro degli Schiavoni in Brindisi the Grid Iron Protomaiolica was found with a coin of Frederick II minted in 1209 and another of Demetrios Comnenus Ducas (1244-46). Rather than use the coins to date these deposits to the first half of the 13th century, the coins provide a *terminus post quem* of 1244 for the date of the contexts' deposition. In another deposit with Protomaiolica sherds there was a coin of Charles I of Anjou (1266-85) which seems to give a *terminus post quem* rather closer to the date of actual deposition.[26] Read differently, the contexts excavated at S. Pietro degli Schiavoni in Brindisi tend to confirm rather than refute the Corinth evidence.

The bacini in the campanile San Paolo all'Orto and Santa Cecilia at Pisa are not contemporary with the foundation of the churches; in the case of San Paolo, the campanile was a later construction dated on the basis of architectural style. [27] In the discussion of the pottery types immured, the examples are dated to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century citing publications of material from Brindisi (see above) and for Merbaka, Gastouni and Corinth which had appeared before the publication of the Pisan bacini.[28] The Corinth references to Morgan, Megaw and MacKay have now been supplanted by much richer evidence and the date of the Pisan bacini should now be reconsidered in the light of this and down-dated.[29]

Much of the architectural argument for an earlier chronology of Merbaka and Protomaiolica relies on the later 12th century date ascribed by Megaw to the Dormition (Panaghia Catholiki) at Gastouni, a near contemporary in Megaw's typology with Merbaka, and its immured "Grid Iron" Protomaiolica bowls. This early construction date has now been conclusively refuted by Dimitri Athanassoulis who supervised the removal of layers of later wall plaster inside the church. His work revealed the original frescoed decoration which preserved a dipinto text recording that

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[25] Berti and Gelichi 1997, p. 87 referring to Patitucci Uggeri 1976 pp. 241-51; Megaw 1964, p. 147 no. 8 and Berti and Tongiorgi 1981, pp. 236-7 nos. 305 and 307 respectively.

[26] Patitucci Uggeri 1976, p. 193 and 1979 pp. 241-51. Fragments of Grid Iron Protomaiolica were found in units VII and VIII. The coins were found at the interface between these two units. The context may be considerably later with Grid Iron Protomaiolica survivors.

[27] Berti and Tongiorgi 1981 pp. 96-8 and 99-116.

[28] Berti and Tongiorgi 1981 pp. 234-7.

[29] Corinth XI, p. 107, Megaw 1964, 1968 and MacKay 1967, p. 258.

the Kalligopoulos family built the church in the year 1278/9.[30] Again this evidence confirms the late date for Grid Iron" Protomaiolica proposed by those working at Corinth.

With the removal of these objections we must now accept that Grid Iron Protomaiolica bowls do not date to the late 12th and first half of the 13th century but to the later second half of the 13th century. Clearly the ceramic evidence indicates overwhelmingly that Merbaka is a late 13th century church. The question of its dedicator, however, remains open to debate.[31] Charalambos Bouras, the leading authority on Byzantine and post-Byzantine architecture in Greece, agrees with the late date but, without specifying his objections, sees no convincing evidence to link the church with William of Moerbeke.[32] Doubtless Bouras disassociates Moerbeke from the Dormition of the Theotokos at Merbaka because he understands the form of the church to reflect its intended use for an Orthodox liturgy. Since he believes that there was no accommodation of Latin dogma by the Orthodox faith in the 13th century anywhere in the occupied territories despite the consistent appointment of Catholic Bishops and Archbishops, Gothic elements in Byzantine churches must serve, in his words, as "no more than an intensification of a tendency towards variety." [33]

This rejection of Moerbeke by Bouras leaves the old village name in limbo. The word Merbaka is unknown in the Greek language and it does not exist in the other three language groups well represented in the region since antiquity; Slavic, Turkish and Arvanitika. It is, however, used as a toponym in Flemish and German, for instance Moerbeke in Flanders and Meerbeck in Saxony. Bouras would have us believe that Merbaka is an exception to the general rule that toponyms in Greece and, indeed, everywhere, have some descriptive meaning or onomastic association.[34] Rather than dismiss the name Merbaka as a random string of letters or syllables, it is reasonable, although not absolutely conclusive, to link the name of the village with the eminent churchman Moerbeke. One way to resolve this issue is to ask if the Gothic and other elements in the Dormition of the Theotokos make more sense by associating the church and the village of Merbaka with William of Moerbeke or by considering them to be eclectic decoration and a coincidence respectively. To answer this question we must consider Moerbeke's *vita*, the socio-political situation at the time of the church's construction and how past generations would have understood the church's architecture.[35] We can then ask if, in light of what is known about its putative creator and the political and religious situation at the time of its erection, whether the Gothic elements are not oddities at all but actually part of a cohesive programmatic statement.

Moerbeke and the Scholastics

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[30] Athanassoulis 2003, p. 68.
[31] Hadji-Minaglou 1992, p.127 still favors an earlier date for Merbaka. She rejected all the ceramic arguments save for Megaw's and asserted that a misinterpretation of Megaw's bibliography led Nicolakopoulos to date the Protomaiolica bowls too late and in doing so overlooked the evidence from excavations at Corinth. However, she reasoned that even if the bowls were 13th century pieces they could have been replacements for 12th century originals. Her suggested date for Merbaka, p. 132, follows Struck's original proposal: that it belongs to the second quarter of the 12th century.
[32] Bouras 2001, pp. 150-1.
[33] Bouras 2001, pp. 157-61.
[34] For instance, in Ancient Corinth today's Tou Bey region refers to that part of the village now where the Bey's palace was located and Roumelioteika refers to where people from Roumeli settled. Elsewhere, Kyparissia is the place where Cyprus trees grew and Pylos is a place where there was clay.
[35] Ćurčić 1992, Maguire 1994, Papalexandrou 2003 and Saradi 1997.

William of Moerbeke was a key figure in the Latin administration of Southern Greece at a time when the Papacy sought to consolidate the reunion of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Although his religious mission ultimately failed, Moerbeke's scholarly legacy survived. This extraordinary man, who merits a mention in "Second day, prime" of Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose*,[36] was more than a religious reformer and senior diplomat; he was also one of the leading Classical scholars of his day.

Thomist scholastics, following St. Thomas Aquinas, maintained and still believe that rational thought and a study of nature offered a means to understand God. Since God is revealed through natural phenomena, it follows that the study of natural philosophy, even that formulated by pre-Christian Hellenes, is a study of God. Given Moerbeke's taste in ancient literature, it is possible to see the manner and extent of his contribution to the Thomist school. Although many of the texts Moerbeke translated already existed in Latin, these were translations from defective Arabic copies of Greek copies of the originals. Moerbeke translated directly from the Greek copies into Latin and his works were thus less corrupted forms of the originals**.**[37]

It is thought that William was born sometime in the first half of the 13th century at Moerbeke on the Flemish border with Brabant.[38] We know nothing about his early career but he was presumably a precocious student of the kind sought out by the *Ordo Praedicatorum*, commonly known as the Dominican order. On joining the Dominicans he may have completed his education at a great university such as Cologne or Paris. He clearly excelled at ancient Greek. In the third quarter of the 13th century, he was responsible for the translation into Latin of at least 49 ancient Greek texts. Among these were the entire works of Aristotle of which his texts of the *Politics*, *Poetics* and *De motu animalium* mark their first appearance in Latin. His other work included translations of Proclus, Hero, Galen, Apollonius and most if not all of Archimedes. Many of the original manuscripts he translated no longer exist and we have Moerbeke to thank for preserving a great volume of ancient literature for posterity. Arguably, in order to translate these texts, he had to be familiar with the precepts of the philosophy, mathematics, physics and biology they contained. His learning therefore must have been formidable and rivaled that of his contemporary and fellow Dominican, Thomas Aquinas.

From the inscriptions on his completed translations, we know that in 1260 William was traveling in the eastern Mediterranean, moving between Thebes, Nikea and Orvieto. Much of his remaining career found him commuting between the Aegean world and Italy, thereby becoming something of a political and diplomatic figure. Sometime before 1266 Pope Clement IV appointed William as his personal chaplain and he served the next five popes in this capacity over the course of the following decade. Moerbeke was an active participant in the Council of Lyons in 1274 when the church attempted to take advantage of the position in which political and military pressure had placed the Byzantine emperor.

Mediterranean Politics

A key figure in this power struggle was Charles I of Anjou, younger brother of the king of France, Louis IX, who himself became King of the Two Sicilies (Italy south of Rome and Sicily) in 1263. After consolidating his position in southern Italy he secured his Adriatic coastline by taking Corfu and parts of the mainland opposite in 1266 and in 1267, at which time he became suzerain of both the Principality of

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[36] Eco 1983.
[37] XXXX
[38] For a biography of Moerbeke, see Clagett 1982.

Achaia (essentially the Peloponnese) and the Aegean islands. The rapid eastward expansion of Anjou's influence and his intent to invade the Byzantine Empire alarmed Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologus who, desiring to avoid military conflict, approached Pope Clement IV offering to participate in the next crusade and hinting at Church reunion in return for a treaty. Clement's response was that the Orthodox Church must submit to papal authority before any negotiations could proceed. Clement's death late in 1268 was followed by a long vacancy in the papacy during which time Michael, in desperation, appealed directly to Louis IX again proposing reunion of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches with the result that Louis restrained his younger brother. On his consecration as Pope in late March 1272, Gregory X lost little time in calling a major church council to be held in May of 1274. The council would address church reforms including the manner in which popes were elected, the reunion of the Orthodox and Catholic churches and a crusade to regain Jerusalem.[39] The second two items on the agenda required Gregory, who preferred to win Christian hearts and minds by peaceful means, to reopen discussions with Michael and to forestall Charles's militaristic tendencies.[40] For Michael there was only one possible course of action for if Charles succeeded in overthrowing the Byzantine Empire, the Orthodox Church would, *de jure*, be reunited under Rome by force. By voluntarily offering to subject the Orthodox Church to Rome *de facto*, Michael could forestall the invasion and keep his empire intact. Gregory surely realized that a voluntary submission was preferable to one that was forced and that he would be remembered throughout Roman Christendom as the man who had achieved a peaceful reunion. Gregory may also have feared the growth of Angevin power. [41] The Second Council of Lyons was to be where Gregory announced his triumph.

Representatives of various heads of state and religious groups duly voted universal tithes for a period of six years to pay for a new crusade against the Saracens. The Council excommunicated all pirates and corsairs who impeded pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land. They also excommunicated everyone who supplied ships, timber, weapons or assistance to the Saracens ordering that anyone caught doing so should be dispossessed and enslaved. These sanctions were to be advertised publicly on holidays in every maritime town.[42] The most significant article was the proclamation of the

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[39] Runciman 1992, pp. 135-49.
[40] Runciman 1992, pp. 156-58.
[41] Runciman 1992, pp. 168-170. Gregory X attempted to focus the aggression and energy of Charles on regaining Jerusalem. When the opportunity arose in 1277, Gregory brokered the purchase of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, essentially a narrow strip of the Syrian coastline, by Charles for 1,000 lbs of Gold.
[42] Tanner 2001, pp. 46-51. Constitution 1. "…Furthermore, since corsairs and pirates greatly impede those travelling to and from that Land, by capturing and plundering them, we bind with the bond of excommunication them and their principal helpers and supporters. We forbid anyone, under threat of anathema, knowingly to communicate with them by contracting to buy or sell. We also order rulers of cities and their territories to restrain and curb such persons from this iniquity; otherwise it is our wish that prelates of churches exercise ecclesiastical severity in their land. We excommunicate and anathematise, moreover, those false and impious Christians who, in opposition to Christ and the Christian people, convey to the Saracens arms and iron, which they use to attack Christians and timber for their galleys and other ships; and we decree that those who sell them galleys or ships, and those who act as pilots in pirate Saracen ships, or give them any help or advice by way of machines or anything else to the detriment of Christians and especially of the holy Land, are to be punished with deprivation of their possessions and are to become the slaves of those who capture them. We order this sentence to be renewed publicly on Sundays and feast-days in all maritime towns; and the bosom of the church is not to be opened to such persons unless they send in aid of the holy Land all that they received from this damnable commerce and the same amount of their own, so that they are punished in proportion to their sins."

reunion of the Church sanctioned by three letters written by Michael VIII to Pope Gregory in February 1274. In confirmation, the Patriarch and an embassy of high-ranking clergy and courtiers brought another letter from Michael confirming his intent in the name of 50 Orthodox prelates. These letters acknowledged the primacy of Rome and admitted the *filioque* clause to the Nicene Creed.[43] At a Mass on Friday July 6th 1274the treaty was ratified and the schism formally ended. The delegates sang the creed accompanied by the Orthodox contingent who, joined by Moerbeke and his philhellene associates, repeated "*qui a patre filioque procedit*", three times in Greek.[44]

The recognition of Rome's primacy was of secondary importance to the Emperor and most Orthodox churchmen. Firstly, because Rome was several months distant from Constantinople, they were confident that there could be little direct interference in what they did or said. Secondly because the Latin west was divided into many small states which were too often in conflict with each other, it was difficult to form a strong alliance against the Byzantine Empire over issues as irrelevant, to them, as precedence and dogma. The exception, of course, was the expanding Angevin empire of Charles I.

The "*filioque*" clause, however, was a matter of grave doctrinal importance in the east. It was added to the Latin version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in the 6th century and suggested that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both God and Jesus placing the Son on an equal footing with the Father. The Orthodox faith held that the Father caused both the Holy Spirit and the Son to come into being; the *filioque* clause therefore diminished, even refuted, the very existence of the Trinity.

In 1277 Pope Nicholas III appointed Moerbeke to the Archsee of Corinth. The position carried considerable power for, as a Christian community originally succored by the Apostle Paul, the Corinthian Archbishopric had primacy over all the Episcopal sees of southern Greece. William of Moerbeke's primary task as Archbishop of Corinth seems to have been a different type of translation from his usual work. His mission was to ensure that the articles of the Council of Lyons were transformed from political theory to practical reality. To do this he had to steer a difficult course between an Orthodox population, priests and monasteries on the one hand and his Catholic Bishops and Rome on the other. He also had to negotiate the political gulf between the suzerain lord of the Principality of Achaia, Charles I, and the local Orthodox population and the relationship of both parties with his master in Rome. Although these goals were priorities in the early years of his appointment, they were rapidly marginalized and then abandoned. The death of Nicholas and the accession of Pope Martin in March 1280 brought a strongly partisan French administration to Papal power. Martin supported the campaign of Charles to restore the Latin Empire by force. Charles's progress towards Constantinople, however, was thwarted in the Spring of 1282 by the Sicilian revolt (the Sicilian Vespers) and his invasion fleet of 400 ships was destroyed. Michael VIII died later in the same year and his son

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[43] Tanner 2001, pp. 46-51. Constitution 2.1. "We profess faithfully and devotedly that the holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle; not by two spirations, but by one single spiration. This the holy Roman church, mother and mistress of all the faithful, has till now professed, preached and taught; this she firmly holds, preaches, professes and teaches; this is the unchangeable and true belief of the orthodox fathers and doctors, Latin and Greek alike. But because some, on account of ignorance of the said indisputable truth, have fallen into various errors, we, wishing to close the way to such errors, with the approval of the sacred council, condemn and reprove all who presume to deny that the holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, or rashly to assert that the holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and not as from one."

[44] Tanner 2001; Geanakoplos 1959. Runciman 1992, pp. 161-XXXX

Andronikos II repudiated his father's diplomatic policies. Charles concentrated on recovering Sicily until his death early in 1285 and his son Charles II never pursued his father's eastern ambitions. It was during this tumultuous time, and partially in response to the religious concerns that William of Moerbeke may have built the church at Merbaka. Armed as we now are with William's *vita*, we may be able to see the man and his message in the ancient blocks and pottery incorporated in the church at Merbaka.

Spolia

Unlike many medieval churches in southern Greece, the proportions of the Dormition of the Theotokos at Merbaka are carefully laid out and all the corners (except in the apses) are square. This church was not an *ad hoc* erection by a team which could build houses, but the work of an architect who remained to supervise a crew of skilled building laborers. The architect made sure the patron's wishes, such as the construction of the *crepis* and the placement and juxtaposition of the reliefs and inscriptions were followed precisely. The laborers knew how to shape voussoirs so that they fitted precisely, how to make good quality bricks and tiles and how to slake lime for quality mortar. The patron of Merbaka clearly invested quantities of time, cash and skilled human resources in the construction of the church.

At the most basic level, stone recycled from a nearby ancient site was an easily available and inexpensive source of squared blocks for construction.[45] At Merbaka the use of blocks from the Argive Heraion was a cheaper and more convenient solution than newly quarried blocks, but the distance of seven kilometers still meant a significant investment of time and labor for transport. If we assume that a yoke of oxen could haul a one ton block at a speed of about 2 kph and work for about 6 hours a day, then each of the larger blocks employed in the church required two entire working days to travel to the Heraion, load, return to Merbaka and unload.[46] The blocks used for the *opere inciso* of the upper walls and the voussoirs of the porch arches were cut to fit either from ancient blocks or blocks quarried for the purpose.[47] The stone employed for these is a sandy Neogene limestone and although Neogene deposits occur at the Argive Heraion, west of Mycenae, and in the Berbati, Nemea and Cleonae valleys, the marl clays there are inter-bedded with conglomerate beach formations. The stone used at Merbaka comes from the oolitic and sandy limestones of the Corinthian Gulf marine terraces which are remnants of submarine sand dunes and sandy beaches which do not occur locally in the Argolid or at Nemea and Cleonae. Newly quarried or recycled, these stones travelled at least 40 kilometers and

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[45] For instance, in Late Antiquity, the faces of the 8 km long Trans-Isthmian wall was built in haste using tens of thousands of blocks delapidated of from the city of Corinth, the Temple of Hera at Perachora and the Sanctuary of Poseidon. The contemporary new city wall at Corinth, another 3 kms long, was built in an identical fashion. Whereas the wall faces were made of recycled materials, the core was constructed of rubble and lime cement made by burning marble and hard limestone objects such as inscriptions, sculpture, columns and epistyles.

[46] These figures are based on Alison Burford's estimates based on the distance travelled and time consumed by oxen used for plowing, Burford 1960, pp. 9-10. Her figures are confirmed by Aristomenes Arberores of Ancient Corinth who informs me that his father's plow team of oxen in their prime could plow 3 ½ stremmata (almost an acre) in a day. With three furrows per meter, this works out to be 10.5 kms of haulage. The weight of the hard limestone used is approximately 2.5 - 3 tons per cubic meter.

[47] Bruzelius, 1991, n. 75 records that the contemporary Fankish architectural term for Ashlar masonry was *opere inciso* and that rubble masonry was *opere plano*.

were probably selected both for the attractive straw gold color of their fresh surfaces and because they were easily cut.

Several features distinguish the Merbaka church from most other medieval churches in Greece. The church has an unusual three step stylobate, resembling that of a Classical temple, made of a hard, grey limestone blocks taken from the Argive Heraion (Fig. XX).[48] Like the churches dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos at Ayia Moni and Chonika, the lower walls of Merbaka are also built of spolia. The spolia in the Merbaka church, however, include two inscriptions, one Greek and the other Latin placed next to the north and east doors respectively. The upper walls are built in the cloisonné style of carefully dressed soft limestone blocks with tiles inserted in the horizontal and vertical interstices. The uniformity is relieved by courses of brick set at an angle to create a relief dog's tooth frieze and a broad band of tiles arranged to resemble a Greek key design. The corners of the upper walls are reinforced with large cut ancient blocks. An ancient *stele* is placed high in the south wall at its east end and a similar *stele* is juxtaposed at the same height at the east end of the north wall. A third relief once occupied the present lacuna high in the northeast facet of the north apse. The west and north doors were built in western style with the jambs carved from the wall ends and the main south door is built in eastern style with a marble frame abutting the walls. The pottery used as colorful highlights in the walls and window tympana are a mixture of western tin glazed Protomaiolica made in Brindisi and vessels decorated with the traditional Byzantine sgraffito technique. The non-figural fresco decorating the nave is western in style and Leo of Catania, who adorns the prothesis wall, is a Greco-Italian saint in both the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Overall the building exhibits a fusion of east and west, old and new which seems intended to convey a particular message.

One block, the Latin inscription set into the wall on the left side of the west door, is particularly important for reading the remainder of the building. Amy Papalexandrou has observed that the inscription seems to make a particular statement of *mimesis*:

> "The large, clearly lettered words of the inscription make reference to an imperator of Italicum [sic] who was also negotiator with the people of Argos in the heyday of the Roman empire. I should think that its prominent placement could be seen as a means of careful appropriation of the past in order to forge a link, not only to the memory of the ancient city, but also to the culture and history of a non-Greek dedicant of the Roman period. The antiquarian interests of the alleged founder of the church, William of Moerbeke, are well known, as are his Flemish ethnicity and appointment as Latin Archbishop to the region in the thirteenth century. Perhaps the inscription reverberated with the scholar-patron who was, himself, a western foreigner in the Greece of his own day."[49]

The inscription reads:

Q(UINTO) CAECILIO C(AI) F(ILIO) METELO
IMPERATORI ITALICI

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[48] Ayia Moni and Chonika are also elevated and set on a broad foundation but the nature of this feature has been partially obscured by subsequent rising of the ground level around the churches. Some scholars believe the foundations are actually the stylobate of a temple, Saradi 1997, p. 416, but a cursory examination shows this to be clearly not the case.

[49] Papalexandrou 2003, pp. 70-1.

QVEI ARGEIS NEGOTIA(NTUR)[50]

It was originally dedicated by the Italici, who were residing in Argos, to honor Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Imperator, son of Caius. To Cyriacus of Ancona, an educated man passionately interested in antiquities who transcribed the inscription in March of 1448 it apparently had no particular significance beyond its inherent antiquarian value as an inscription. Indeed, this particular inscription, with its large letters spelling out clear sound bites such as Imperator, Italici, Negotia[ntur] and Argeis, read by someone unversed in Roman history or Latin, meant little and the line Q. Caecilio C.F. Metello probably nothing. An Italian or western priest, however, would have understood and to William of Moerbeke, one of the most eminent and widely read classical scholars in Christendom, this stone will have been particularly special. Given his familiarity with Greek and Latin we can assume Moerbeke was a more than competent ancient historian and he must have recognized Quintus Caecilius Metellus as one of the three celebrated men of that name associated with the region. The embassy of Quintus Caecilius Metellus (son of Lucius Caecilius Metellus), to the Achaean league at Argos in 185 BCE was a failure and he was unlikely to have been honored.[51] Neither does it refer to his son Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus who defeated the Arcadians at Chaeronea before marching on the Achaeans at the Isthmus in 146 BCE.[52] The stone actually honors the latter's grandson, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus, the general (imperator) who conquered Crete in 67 BCE thereby suppressing piracy in the Aegean.[53]

From his regular commute between Greece and Rome via Brindisi on the Via Appia Moerbeke was also familiar with the monumental tomb of his daughter beside the road next to the Circus of Maxentius. He could identify it as hers by the inscription Caeciliae / Q. Cretici F. / Metellae Crassae set high in the wall. He may also have known that the martial feats of her son Marcus Licinius Crassus outstripped even those of his ancestors. He was one of two mortal generals (as opposed to the legendary leaders) of Rome to have overcome his opposing general in single combat thereby entitling him to *spolia opima*, the "honorable spoils".[54] Moerbeke as translator of Archimedes may also have known that the other mortal to have achieved this feat was Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Marcellus won his *spolia opima* against the Gauls in 225 BC and dedicated them to Jupiter Feretrius "who carries away the spoils of war". In his third consulate, Marcellus campaigned in Sicily (214 to 212 BC) where he was opposed at Syracuse by the machinery invented by Archimedes, who died in the slaughter which ensued when the city was taken.[55]

Although there is no evidence of the understanding of spolia as *spolia opima* before the 16th century, Moerbeke, if indeed he was the patron of this church, may have been precocious and understood that his use of the inscription as spolia referred directly or indirectly to the *spolia opima* of Marcellus and those earned by, but denied to Crassus for the sake of harmony, union and peace. The stone may have been used to identify the church as a triumphal monument commemorating the victory of Catholicism over Orthodoxy. More certain is that Moerbeke would have recognized Quintus Caecilius Metellus as Creticus the suppressor of piracy. If we deny that

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[50] *CIL* III, 531.
[51] Polybius 22.10.1.
[52] Pausanius, 7, 16-17; Livy, *Ep.* 52.
[53] Dio, 36.18-19.
[54] This took place in 29 BC when he killed the Scythian king, Deldo. Dio 51.23.3-25.4.
[55] Plutarch *Marc*. 7.1-8.5, 19.3-7.

Moerbeke caused this church to be built, the inscription is merely a random coincidence almost devoid of significance. If we admit that Moerbeke was the patron, the church can be recognized as a monument commemorating the second Council of Lyons which sought to suppress piracy as did Metellus, established the union of the Church and peace between Charles of Anjou and Michael VIII. Thus understood, the significance of this inscription enables us to recognize the purpose of other spolia used in the walls.

An inscription on the left hand side of the north door is set vertically but was legible to someone entering the church. It reads:

ΧΕΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ
ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ[56]

Xenophilos and Straton of Argos were prolific sculptors in the Hellenistic period and similar inscriptions identifying their work have been found at Corinth, Epidauros, Kleonai and Sikyon.[57] Even if the words made no sense to the illiterate, the characters at least were recognizable as Greek. The functionally literate will have been able to pick out complete words such as “foreigner”, “friend”, “Argos”, even if they misconstrued the grammar. They may have read something like “a friend of foreigners and leaders made (this) for the people of Argos” or “the Argives made this for a friend of foreigners and leaders”. Thus read, the average casual visitor might have understood the patron or honoree was an important person. In the late 13th century and perhaps for several generations afterwards, a local will have known the name of the individual himself. If he was Moerbeke, they knew him as a foreigner who was closely connected with the highest echelons of Byzantine and Western power and who professed friendship with the local population. Moerbeke himself will not have known of Xenophilos and Straton but he may well have recognized a different Xenophilos as the aged natural philosopher of the Pythagorean School who taught Aristoxenus before he became a pupil of Aristotle. The only surviving utterance of Xenophilos is the recommendation that a boy "… take care that he was born in a city which enjoyed Eunomia."[58]

The votive *stele* once in the northeast facet of the north apse where there is still an obvious shallow, rectangular gap in the masonry also conveys a message which can be read on a simple level. This is a Hellenistic relief now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotec in Copenhagen (Fig. X).[59] On the right it shows a bearded (older) man and a young woman on a couch besides which is a table of food; they are attended by a boy. On the left, the couple is approached by a man, three women and three children who lead a ram towards the couch. In the background, a horse looks in through a window and a snake is coiled besides the couch. Since the church was dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, doubtless depicted prominently on an icon inside, the viewer may have understood the relief to represent the same scene. A more querulent viewer may have quibbled about the animals included and may have

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[56] *IG* IV^2.257.

[57] At Corinth see Kent 1960, no. 47, pp. 15-6; Epidauros, *IG* IV.231; Kleonai, *IG* IV.489; Sikyon *IG* IV.430 and 431.

[58] Diogenes Laertius, viii. 15-16.

[59] Bodnar and Foss 2003, pl. IX shows the drawing made by Cyriacus who added a fourth woman to those approaching the couch and drew the couple at a much smaller scale. Blouet and Ravoisié 1831. At the Ny-Carlsberg the piece was originally catalogued as #98 in 1898, see Arndt 1907, #235; Poulsen 1951, #235 and Moltesen 1995, #79. It must have been extracted sometime between 1829 when drawn by the Expedition de la Moree and 1898 when it appeared in the Ny-Carlsberg catalog.

argued that the scene showed the Adoration of the Magi. In either sense, the young woman is to be understood as Mary and the older man to be Joseph. The relief cannot be seen to have any relation to Moerbeke except that his order, the Dominicans, were particularly attached to the Virgin Mary.

Two other large reliefs, which seem to be equally carefully chosen, can be read as references to the Council of Lyons. High in the wall on the south side, there is

Two other large reliefs, which seem to be equally carefully chosen, can be read as references to the Council of Lyons. High in the wall on the south side, there is a Roman grave stele portraying three draped figures which is interpreted in local contemporary tradition to represent the Holy Trinity, hence the modern name of the village.[60] Arguably, the relief was originally intended to impart a similar message as that understood by the modern villagers, namely as a representation of the Holy Trinity. If chosen by Moerbeke, the reference can be construed to reflect the dialog between the Orthodox and western Churches about the nature of the Trinity; the relief portrays the Orthodox view that the Son and Holy Spirit both proceed from the Father and are equal entities. This hypothesis finds further support in the relief equally prominently and identically positioned in the on the north wall. It portrays only two figures which, if we read the first stele to be the Orthodox Trinity, may be understood to represent the Latin creed’s Father and the Son from whom the (unseen) Holy Spirit proceeds. Read together the reliefs can refer quite clearly to the second constitution of the Council of Lyons which added the *filioque* clause to the Nicene Creed. In this case, the statement seems to be that the *filioque* addition in no fashion diminished the significance of the Trinity and that there was space, in this particular church at least, either to accommodate both views or to show that the *filioque* clause no way diminished the importance of the Holy Spirit.

Another ancient element in the church is the use of a three step stylobate resembling that of a small Classical temple.[61] Stylistic features that imitate ancient temples also extend to the rectangular foundation in front of the main west door which resembles the foundations of the ramp typically found on the main east axis of Peloponnesian Doric temples. There is a corresponding foundation for the porch of the north door but it would be imprudent to suggest that Moerbeke had seen the remains of Athena Alea at Tegea.[62] At one level the imitation of a Doric stylobate may have been interpreted as the triumph of Christianity over ancient polytheistic religion but Moerbeke may have intended a more subtle message. His use of ancient texts was to advance his Thomist conviction that God can be understood through the study of the natural world and all His creations as well as through the work of ancient philosophers. Essentially Moerbeke was helping to found the Thomist School in particular and the Church in general on ancient Hellenic learning. The Church and his church can both be construed as being built on ancient foundations. The mixture of architectural styles represented in the church also imparts a message.

There are many details freshly cut or in reuse which are ambiguous and difficult to interpret. A medieval relief representing a small doglike mammal may be an ermine, whose white fur was symbolic of purity, or a fox which, with the vine and grape cluster reliefs, may refer to Aesop’s fable of the fox and grapes. A large star relief partially re-cut at its center to represent a face may b the star of Saint Dominic

[60] According to Scholte 1987 pp. 195, 208, the village was renamed in 1953 because Merbaka sounded Turkish.

[61] Part of the third, lowest step is preserved above ground at the west end of the church.

[62] The foundations at Tegea preserve the west ramp foundations and, uniquely, a foundation for a ramp on the north side.

or the solar device represented on the habit of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The fish are almost certainly merely a Christian symbol.

As Bouras points out, formal western architecture is comparatively rare in Greece. In the Peloponnese, western style churches with elongated basilical plans, Gothic windows and details can be found only at Clarenza, Andravida in Elis, at Isova near Olympia and, most elaborately, at Zaraka near Bouzi in the Stymphalus valley.[63] These date to the first half of the 13th century and are clearly built for a Latin rather than an Orthodox liturgy. With its cloisonné masonry, Merbaka looks typically Byzantine but it also incorporates strong Gothic elements.[64] The wall paintings include Leo of Catania in Sicily, who was both a Catholic and Orthodox Saint. On the south side the door is built in the Byzantine style with its jambs, made of two reused fluted half columns, abutting the wall ends. The north and west door jambs however bond with the walls in the western fashion. The colonettes of the south and west doors are pure Gothic while the colonette capitals of the dome would not be out of place in the Isle de France. The limited use of these elements at Merbaka, and perhaps also at the other churches which incorporate them, hardly demonstrate the presence of western specialist craftsmen, merely skilled stonecutters who worked under western influence. These western elements were used so sparingly at Merbaka that they seem to be architectural markers reflecting the harmonious union between the Orthodox and Catholic Church rather than, contra Bouras, merely “an intensification of a tendency towards variety.”[65]

In Merbaka this message of union extends to the immured pottery which includes Protomaiolica bowls made at Brindisi in the heart of the Angevin Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Byzantine style Sgraffito bowls from somewhere in the Aegean littoral. Bowls adorn many churches in the regions retained by western rulers after the fall of Constantinople, especially in Epirus, Attica and the Peloponnese.[66] Churches decorated with bowls are also so common in northern Italy that the practice appears to be of Italian rather than regional Byzantine origin.[67] More specifically the combination of Southern Italian and Byzantine pottery at Merbaka may refer to the main protagonists in the struggle for power in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The unusual combination of architectural elements leaves little doubt that this building is the brainchild of a Catholic classicist operating in a Greek speaking, essentially Orthodox landscape. Backed with the finances of his Archsee, Moerbeke could easily have afforded to build a church in the western Gothic style with all the modest trimmings permitted by his Dominican order. Instead he created a near facsimile of a Byzantine Orthodox church with muted western details and using specific ancient blocks to convey new meanings and, in the case of the Latin inscription he related intertextually its new use to its original use. As a monument it reflects the fusion of east and west while at the same time it celebrated the Eunomia (the suppression of piracy) and Euclaia (the glorious reunion of the Church) which resulted from the Second Council of Lyons. Without Moerbeke, the church is merely a particularly beautiful example of Orthodox medieval architecture built from

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[63] Bouras 2001, pp. 248-9. For more detail, see for instance Boetticher 1885; Enlart 1897; Traquair 1923; Orlandos 1955; Moutsopoulos 1956 and 1960; Bon 1969 and Panagopoulos 1979.
[64] This is relatively uncommon: Bouras 2001 cites and illustrates 19 examples.
[65] Bouras 2001 p. 258.
[66] These are briefly discussed by Tsouris 1988, pp. 95-116 with a list of 63 churches with immured pottery. This list is incomplete, for instance the Dormition at Chonika and Ayios Demetrios at Krokeai are not included.
[67] For instance at Pisa, see Berti and Tongiorgi 1981.

interesting pieces of reused ancient monuments. To view the church, however, is to miss the powerful message imparted by its visual program. With Moerbeke as its patron the church is transformed from a Faberge egg of a religious building into an eloquent architectural statement.

Conclusion and Discussion

This paper set out to answer four related questions about the church of the Dormition at Merbaka; where, when, who and why. The church was located in a prominent position in the Medieval communications network of the Argive plain between Corinth and Nauplion. The pottery immured in the walls dates the building to about 1280. This date is affirmed by the patron who caused the church to be built, Willam of Moerbeke, Archbishop of Corinth between 1277 and 1285. Its purpose was to commemorate the reunion of the Church at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. These conclusions lead to a number of items which will be valuable for further discussion.

The Byzantine proportions of the Dormition argue persuasively for its intended use of an orthodox rather than Latin form of the liturgy. Western services preserved and still preserve the processional elements of the early church fairly faithfully. Following the western rule of *iuniores priores*, the congregation enters the church first meaning that an open, unencumbered central corridor is required for the *adventus*-like procession of clergy to move from the main entrance to the sanctuary. After its public transformation into the blood and body of Christ, the Sacrament is shared with the congregation who processed to and from the altar rail to receive it. Western liturgy retained the ancient basilica church forms and architectural developments were directed at embellishment, elevation and lighting interior spaces which reached its sublime apogee in Sainte Chapelle in Paris. In the former eastern provinces of the Late Roman empire followed the rule of *seniores priores* and ecclesiastical architecture evolved along different lines but retained much of its Late Roman appearance. The entrance was a hierarchical procession of the Gospels and the clergy, in order of seniority, which delivered the sacramental materials, gifts and Gospels to their respective places before the congregation entered the church. Since the processional did not require a central aisle, churches built to serve smaller communities did not require elongated plans and unencumbered passages for processions.[68] The eastern liturgy allowed church plans to become truncated and, in stages, less transparent. Eventually, elements which had been viewed by the congregation, such as the transformation of the sacrament, were done in private behind the altar screen.

The performance and language of the liturgy may have divided east and west but the service, sentiment, prayers and order, with the crucial exception of the *filioque* element of the Nicene Creed, were essentially the same. In the newly unified church the locals could preserve their traditional performance of the liturgy in their own language as long as the Creed included the *filioque* clause. If the liturgy remained essentially unchanged, then the Byzantine form of the Dormition at Merbaka does not identify it as a Byzantine Orthodox church. The Principality was ruled by westerners and its Church was administered from Rome so when it was built, Merbaka was a unified Christian church in which the Byzantine form of the liturgy was practiced. By using traditional Byzantine architectural forms in this church, the intended message is one of continuity and stability but with one small four syllable modification: the

[68] Sanders 2005, pp. 22-3.

addition of *filioque* to the Creed. The intent was to win hearts and minds, not to impose revolutionary changes in practice, form and language. The restrained use of Gothic elements at Merbaka is a gentle reminder of that the Church was global. The use of the figural reliefs to represent both the Orthodox and Latin forms of the Trinity was to give them equal status and to airbrush over perceived differences. If anything, the relief with three figures on the more prominent and better lit south side gave the Othodox form of the Trinity a slight precedence which was perhaps intended to reassure the public. The Inclusion of the relief now in Copenhagen was perhaps to demonstrate that the unified Church revered the same Father, the same Son and the same Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, the same miraculous birth and the same passion, the same saints using the same sacrificial calendar.

The sundial at the southwest corner, not discussed here, may even have demonstrated that services took place at the same traditional time. Rome sought only to make itself the ruler of a unified church and to impose the *filioque* clause and not the architecture. This lack of interest in form except on a practical level meant that ancient Temples could be converted into early Christian churches and Byzantine churches into mosques. To read a 13th century Peloponnesian church as Byzantine Orthodox is inappropriate when the Church was, *de jure*, one. Rather, they are churches built in the traditional style of the region which reflect the form of entry traditional in the east.

The identification of Merbaka, ostensibly a Byzantine building with western elements, as a monument built to celebrate the Second Council of Lyons raises questions of globalization and the degree to which there was resistance or assimilation during the *circa* 70 years of Frankish rule in the Peloponnese prior to its construction. The hypothesis that mutual hostility between Orthodox and Catholics existed at all levels of society during the Medieval period is falsifiable. Much of the research to date concentrates on the early years of Frankish rule in the captured provinces and, unsurprisingly, finds that initially there was strong resistance to the new regime.[69] Nevertheless, a growing corpus of recent research has demonstrated, contarary to previous scholarly consensus, that Westerners and the indigenous population did not merely coexist for generations in an atmosphere of sustained mutual suspicion and antagonism.[70] During the early decades of the Principality, Geoffrey Villehardouin sought to win the hearts and minds of the local population. He won the loyalty of the local *archontes* by guaranteeing that their faith, customs and law would be respected. The *archontes* were well represented on the commission which registered land ownership and the inhabitants of the villages would not be resettled elsewhere. Like their Latin counterparts, Orthodox priests were given the exemption from taxes except hearth tax in 1223 but clergy of all ranks were required tp submit to the Pope. While some senior churchmen declined and departed, none of them were from the Peloponnese and we may reasonably conclude that many remained and that some may have converted or at actively supported the Catholic church.[71]

After an auspicious beginning and despite the return of a strong Byzantine presence to the Peloponnese, the process of assimilation continued. Four generations after the conquest, the ruling and educated echelons at Mistra had come to see westerners as potential friends and allies. Writing to Pope John XXII in 1330,

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[69] See Jacoby1973 and 1989, pp. 6-8 for relations between the Latins and Greek archons in the Peloponnese in the 13th century.

[70] Page 2008, pp. 9-10 citing the research of Gerstell 2000; Grossman 2004; Hirschbichler 2005; Ilieva; McKee and Shawcross 2006.

[71] Page 2008, pp. 188-97, 204 discussing the Greek *Chronicle* 1648-9, 2089–95, 1832-3.

emperor John Kantakouzenos, later John VI, addressed him as a fellow Christian. John VI's close advisor and ambassador Demetrios Kydones learnt Latin from a Dominican in order to dispense with intermediaries in his negotiations. During his studies he was introduced to and became so impressed by Thomist philosophy that he not only became a Catholic but also persuaded emperor John V Palaiologos to convert.[72] These were not isolated cases restricted to the highest echelon of Byzantine society. In 1322 Pope John XXII regretted in the strongest terms that in the Peloponnese, Catholics attended Orthodox liturgy and the Orthodox were attended Catholic services.[73] After thoroughly considering the written record Gill Page concludes that "by the closing decades of the fourteenth century it is no longer appropriate to speak of distinct ethnic groups in the Peloponnese, the Franks of the Morea and the Romans of the Morea. By the middle of the century, this had become a society of considerable ethnic assimilation."[74] Between the conquest and the mid-13th century Orthodox warriors happily became feudatories of the Latin princes serving in wars against Orthodox princes and, when the Empire returned to the Peloponnese, Latins in turn served Orthodox princes. Members of the Peloponnesian elites had become bilingual, blind to religious dogma and intermarried producing a hybrid which neither Byzantine or Frank but Peloponnesian.[75]

In the later 13th century Peloponnese it is reasonable to assume a certain degree of acceptance after two generations of fairly benign Latin rule and to presume that this process continued over the next 260 years in and around Nafplion. By 1540, when after 330 years of administration by westerners the Venetians finally surrendered Nauplion and its hinterland to the Ottomans, there must have been a considerable degree of assimilation.[76] With the failure of a diplomatic imposition of Rome over the Byzantine Empire, a military solution was proposed by Charles of Anjou and Pope Martin. This was intended to impose the situation already well established in Frankish Greece on the territories ruled by Byzantine Emperor. We can infer that since Rome had nurtured religious assimilation in Frankish Greece before the Second Council of Lyons, they continued to do so for decades after the proposed invasion of Byzantium failed.

We need not ponder long how the average Orthodox traveler in the late 13th and succeeding centuries read the statement made by the Dormition of the Theotokos at Merbaka. The language of the message is intellectual and was doubtless lost on all but those educated in the classics and the history of the period. At least one such visitor seems to have understood and even left a graffito in acknowledgement of the fact. On the right hand side of the west door is a clumsily inscribed square divided into eight segments by diagonal lines etched from corner to corner and by vertical and a horizontal lines cut from the mid-point of each side. The device is too clumsy to have been part of the original decoration of the church and, if it is not another block

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[72] Nicol 1996, pp. 102-4; Page 2008, p. 171.
[73] Page 2008, p. 240.
[74] Page 2008, p. 223.
[75] Page 2008, p. 242.
[76] Andrews 1953, p. 92. When the unconquered portions of the despotate of Morea were ceded to the Turks, the border with the Venetian *terra* of Nauplion was surveyed with appropriate documents in hand and elderly witnesses standing by in 1460. XXX Minio had to bargain hard to retain as much as he could but we can be sure that Venice lost parts of the Argive plain The western border ran from Mili to Kafalari and the northen border extended from Kefalari to Ayios Theodosios (east of Merbaka) to Thermi (north of modern Hermione). Merbaka lay close to the line but we do not know whether or not it remained part of the Venetian *terra*. This survey is preserved in Letter XXII of XXX and Wright 200x.

chosen specifically for the graffito, must have been added later. The cross, re-crossed device is the background, in alternating black and white triangles, of the Dominican Order's coat of arms (Fig. X).

The church seems either to have been a very personal statement originally intended for the few, who knew or one made by someone who optimistically anticipated that the union of the Church would endure and that the message would become common knowledge. This was not to be the case; Pope Martin abandoned the diplomatic reunion of the church in favor of a military reunion which failed when the Sicilian Vespers diverted his champion's invasion fleet. With the Second Council of Lyons a dead letter, references to it in Moerbeke's church to the Council suggest that it was started soon after William became archbishop of Corinth in 1277 and was complete by the Spring of 1282 when Pope Martin's ambitions crumbled to nothing. In designing the church, Moerbeke was perhaps inspired by the passage of Aristotle's *Politics* he translated which is quoted at the beginning of the paper.[77] In essence, Aristotle advocates that those appointed to a high office should construct a public building so that the population would be reminded of the patron's munificence and not desire a change of governance.

Like the Arch of Constantine in Rome, Merbaka is a collage employing a broad range of different media. The inscribed texts were excised, like newspaper clippings, from their original contexts and appropriated for a similar if different purpose to be understood in their new context. The figural images, like photographs in a modern collage were used in the same way as the texts. Less easily read are the use of pottery and stone. On one level these materials made the church appear to be a votive model made of precious metals studded with precious stones, the pale gold and tarnished silver of the blocks and the sapphire blue, emerald green and carnelian yellow of the pottery. On another level these materials are ancient blocks reused to support a superstructure of stone freshly quarried or reworked which is studded with ceramics in the latest Italian fashion. On a third level the materials also have proveniences; The stones were originally cut from Argive mountains and Corinthian terraces but the bowls are exotic, imported from the Byzantine and Angevin homelands. Each *flâneur* who visits Merbaka will be affected by the ambiguity of form and building materials in a fashion unique to the individual. There can be no doubt that future publications will interpret this architectural collage in a different light but it will be difficult for them to completely disassociate the name of Moerbeke from the church.

It is possible to see the use of Gothic elements in Merbaka and other churches built in the Latin provinces of Greece, such as at Blachernae, Androusa and Yeraki, either as acceptance of or at least lip service to the government and religious governance of the time. The question whether Merbaka is unique or part of a building program has already been raised by several scholars.[78] Future research may reexamine the relationship of Merbaka to other churches in the region dedicated to the Dormition such as Chonika and Ayia Moni. These churches belong to the "Greek School", have glazed bowls immured in them, a decorative device which was particularly a feature of northwestern Italian churches, less so in the Western administered territories of the Aegean (Attica, Peloponnese, Kythera, Crete and Epirus) and, arguably, absent in

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[77] Ar. *Pol* 6.7.10.
[78] For Example Struck 1909 and Megaw 1931-2.

Byzantine imperial territories until the late 13th century at Mistra.[79] They also have high podia and, employ more or less spolia in their walls. The liberal use of squared Corinthian limestone for the *opere inciso* of the upper walls alone suggests either that there was a source of material and skilled labor used for special projects over the course of almost 130 years in the Argolid or that its extraction was part of a single building program. In fact the use of *opere inciso* may be a criterion which may help to distinguish churches built during the *Frankokrateia* or by *Frankophiles* and Byzantine churches or churches built by *Frankophobes* using rubble construction (*opere plano*).

Obviously this suggestion is one that will excite strong adverse reaction. Is it a coincidence that the Franks happened to occupy a territory which coincided with the distribution of the Greek “school” of cloissoiné architecture which employed both *opere inciso* and kufesque brickwork?[80] The exploitation of the symbolic and political significance of religious architecture was certainly an important element of contemporary architecture in the west. For instance, Charles of Anjou ensured that all his new foundations in the Kingdom of Naples after 1268 employed Ile-de-France style Gothic and no other.[81] Two neighbors of Merbaka are churches are dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos and belong to the Greek “school” and deserve a brief examination here.

The case of Chonika is ambiguous; its immured bowls are no longer *in situ*, there are no indications given by inscriptions and reliefs and there are no surviving church documents. Stylistically we should probably date Chonika more or less with Merbaka, especially because its location on the approach roads to Nauplion and Argos is so very similar to that of Merbaka. Even though Ayia Moni would pass, in Medieval terms, as duplicate for Merbaka, the case appears to be cut and dry; it is dated by and inscription to 1149 built into the west wall which commemorates Bishop Leo of Argos as the builder. Leo’s undated *Typikon* deals with the spiritual life of monks in his monastery but his *Memorandum*, dated 1143, essentially states that monastery was originally a nunnery but that he moved the nuns to a new, more secure foundation further from the sea and piratical raids at a place called Bouzi, a “sheltered, wooded area”.[82] The evidence is not, however, beyond question. The *Typikon*, now destroyed, was actually signed by Leo but his *Memorandum* is only a copy with a verbal description of Leo’s seal. In it Leo introduces himself as the Bishop of Argos and Nauplion even though Nauplion was only added to Episcopal title some time later and no earlier than the late 12th century. The *Memorandum* seems to have been written to clarify his original intent in establishing his monastery and nunnery, to identify their landholdings and (very emphatically) to “ordain once and for all that they were to be free of any Episcopal and official authority” in perpetuity.

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79 The “Greek School” of architecture is one that employs cut orthogonal blocks in conjunction with decorative brick courses to produce a cloisonne exterior appearance. Many buildings incorporate spolia (reused ancient blocks) and all have more or less decorative tiles and bricks which divide the surface into zones and frame windows. Geographically the school is limited to southern and western Greece, chronologically it is considered to extend from the early 11th century to 13th centuries and in places such as Mistra surviving until the 14th century.

80 For instance, extracted from Hosios Loukas and set alone in a village of the Argive plain, the Dormition of the Theotokos could very well pass as a companion of Merbaka. The impost capitals of Ayia Sophia at Monemvasia have stylistic details very close to mid-13th century Champs Levée pottery.

81 Bruzelius, 1991, p. 405.

82 Choras 1975, pp. 50-2 for the inscription and pp. 52-7, 239-44 for the *Memorandum*. See Talbot 2000, pp. 244-52 for a translation of the *Memorandom* and a commentary. Armstong 2007, p.340 quotes a personal communication in which Talbot, who had consulted the document, that Bouzi had been inserted for an erased and illegible place name. Armstrong cites Mutinelli 1852, *sv* Bouzi for the meaning of the word.

This order was probably well beyond the bounds of his authority either as founder or as a bishop. The *Memorandum* may have been (re)drafted to settle a particular dispute and I suspect that it was a post-mortem pastiche written to counter an attempt to bring one or both Leo's foundations under Episcopal authority. Such a suit was indeed brought before the Venetian Senate and it resulted in the recognition of the monastery's independence in 1437.[83] This is not to say that Ayia Moni was not founded by Leo in the mid-12th century, only that the *Memorandum* may not be unimpeachable evidence to date the church which now stands there.

The elaborate marble inscription identifying Leo, Bishop of Argos alone as the founder in April 1149 is inset at the south end of the west wall. The inscription looks genuine enough but it is remarkably battered and chipped considering its protected position high in the wall and may well have been inserted into the wall after having been used elsewhere, such as an earlier church on site. Indeed, the quoin above the inscription has clearly been cut back to receive the slab. In fact, the whole awkward arrangement of the slab, in such a well planned and executed building makes its intended incorporation in the original church highly suspect. Note, for example, the insertion of two vertical bricks to the right which extend only 2/3 the height of the inscription and the absence of a brick course above and on its left side. If the inscription had been cut specifically for the church, could not its proportions have been tailored to fit? If not could not the highly skilled architect and building crew have found some more harmonious device to accommodate it? Whatever our suspicions, the immured Islamic pottery could be mid-12th century but it also could be later, even first half of the 13th century. Although the chronology of Islamic pottery is a little better understood that it was 20 years ago, there remains a distinct possibility that some further downward adjustments can be made.[84]

Again, someone may one day be tempted to ask if we can understand the spolia, podium and immured pottery at Ayia Moni better with Moerbeke or without him. A quick glance suggests that as part of a building program enacted by William of Moerbeke, the use of Islamic pottery could be construed as a reference to the Second Council's resolution to mount a crusade against the Saracens. The endowment of a new church at Leo's foundation may be a reminder that the nunnery was originally built to protect the nuns against piratical attack. Finally, the podium on which the church is built is reminiscent of that of a Roman temple and, if part of Moerbeke's scheme, it suggests that the church was built on a Roman (Catholic) foundation. Ayia Moni is potentially an even more interesting building than it initially appears.

William of Moerbeke's legacy as one of the outstanding classical scholars in the history of the field barely survives among contemporary classicists. On the other hand, Moerbeke's architectural and archaeological legacy enshrined in the church at Merbaka will endure. Art and architectural historians have and will continue to discuss his church at Merbaka and other related churches in the light of Merbaka in terms of memory and appropriation of the past. Although many archaeologists

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[83] Choras 1975, pp. 103-9, 312.13, aee also Armstrong 2007, p. 340.

[84] XXXX's recent archaeological, stylistic and petrographic study has shown that the identification and dating of medieval Islamic pottery is much more complex than previously thought. It should be added that one of the fixed points in dating Islamic pottery is the church of Ayioi Theodoroi in Athens which had figural Islamic pottery inserted in its walls. Megaw believed that a marble inscription in the west wall dated the church to the mid-11th century, a date happily accepted by specialists in Islamic pottery. Soteriou, I believe correctly, objected by pointing out that the inscription appears to be in secondary use in the church. He dated the church to the mid-12th century which would certainly impact the date of Islamic pottery but Soteriou's opinion has been conveniently ignored. I would contend that since pottery has been immured, the church is yet another Frankish century foundation.

working on Medieval ceramics have been reluctant to use Merbaka as a fixed point for the pottery used in it, this is no longer the case. The construction date of Merbaka and Gastouni, now serve as both a firm *terminus ante* and a *terminus post quem* for the manufacture, distribution and use of the particular types of Protomaiolica and Zeuxippus Ware used to decorate their walls. These *termini* help to refine the dates of ceramics which both precede and followed them in the archaeological record. At Corinth, this work has already begun and it is now possible, using stratigraphical relationships, seriation and significant coins in well excavated deposits to date the styles of glazed pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries with considerable precision.[85] From this the chronology of cooking, plain and storage wares proceed. Naturally, dating pottery is not the objective but merely a beginning; until we know when, other questions such as who, what, how and why are abstractions. If archaeologists of the historical periods date their pottery is dated 100 years too early, their economic and historical conclusions they come to are just plain wrong. With tight chronological controls, we can begin to understand how the archaeological remains, so often the only surviving history of the lowest social echelons of society, work with what we understand from the surviving written records of the elites such as the church, civil administration and economy. It is a shame that despite the long history of Medieval scholarship in the eastern Mediterranean, it has taken so long for art historians, historians and archaeologists to arrive within the same chapter if not within a few pages of each other. For all his learning, Moerbeke could not have foreseen his impact on this particular field of scholarship.

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[85] Sanders XXX.

Maryland.

Merbaka includes 11 Protomaiolica
bowls, most of which belong to the 'Brindisi type' and one to the Sicilian production (Patittucci-Uggeri 1985, 367-71; Riavez 2000a, 445). There are also two monochrome turquoise bowls of Islamic provenance and a few examples of Zeuxippus Ware (class Ib/c).
Bowls of the 'Zeuxippus Ware family' are also immured in Ayios Demetrios at Krokeai in
Laconia, a church dated by inscription to 1286 (Sanders 1989, 195-196). An example exists
also in Ayioi Theodoroi at Mystras (ca. 1296). It has been suggested that some of the bowls
immured in these Peloponnesian churches, including Merbaka, belong in fact to the Venetian
type 'Spirale Cerchio' (Gelichi 1993, 31; Berti and Gelichi 1997, 88-89; Stillwell-MacKay
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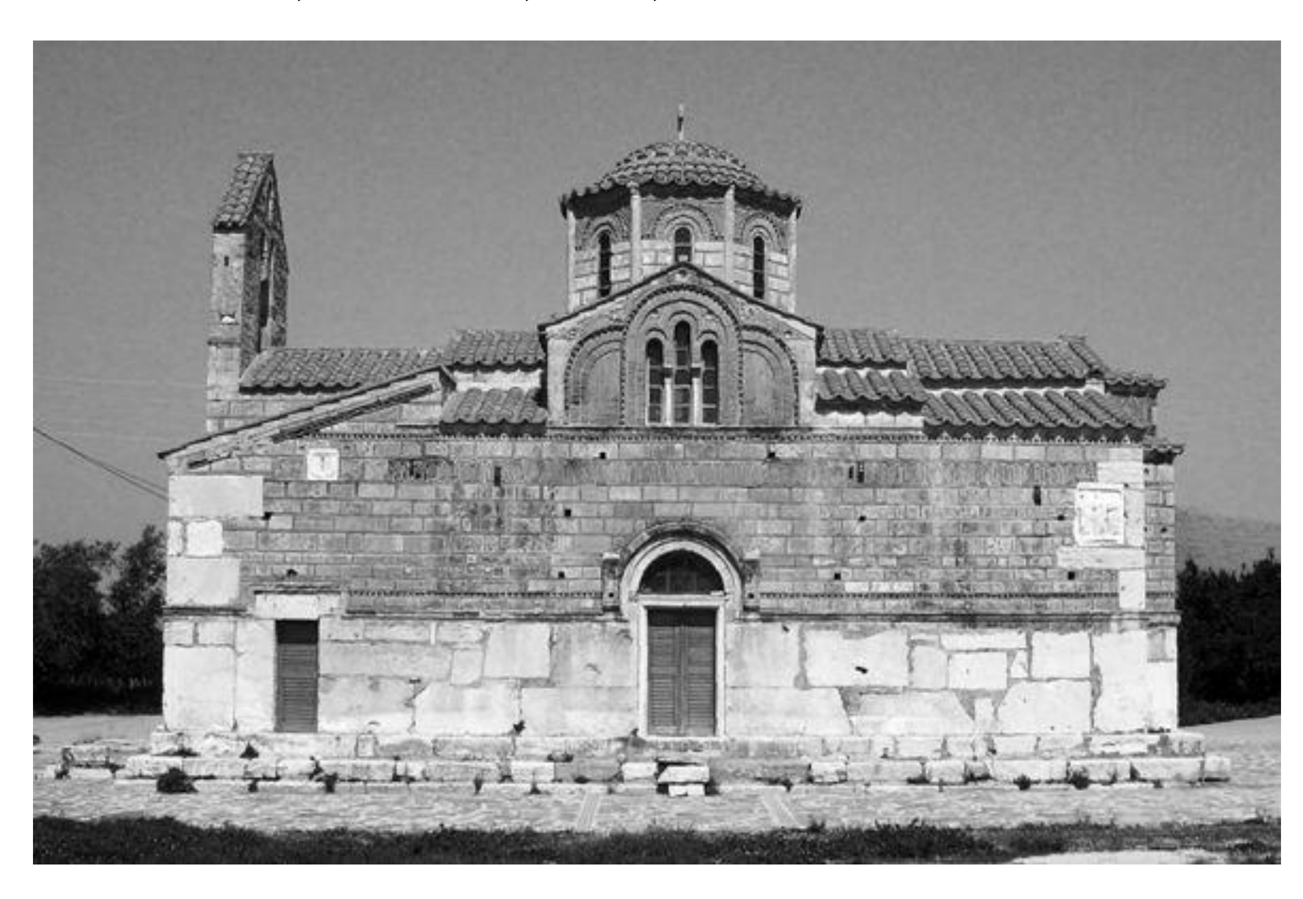
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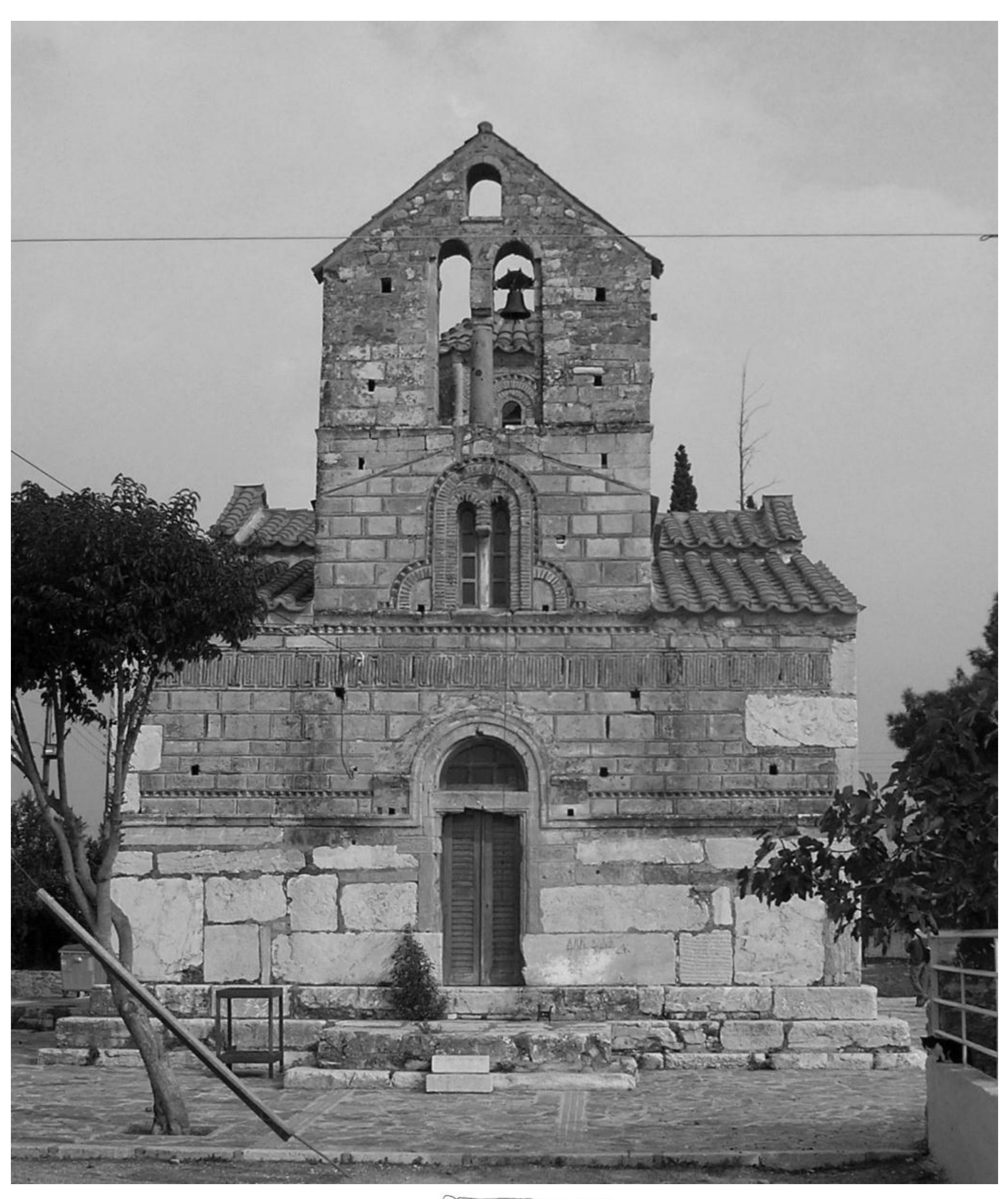
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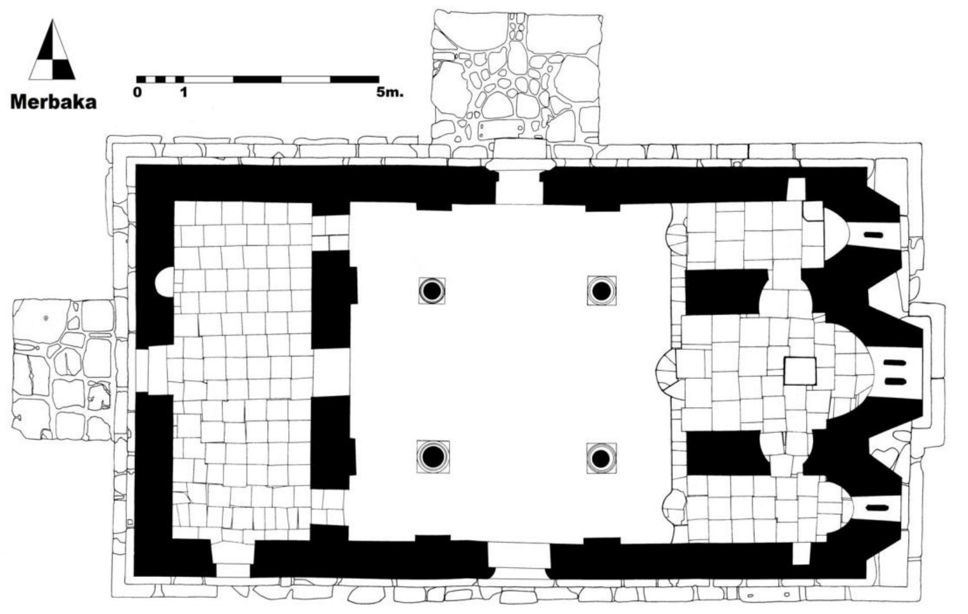
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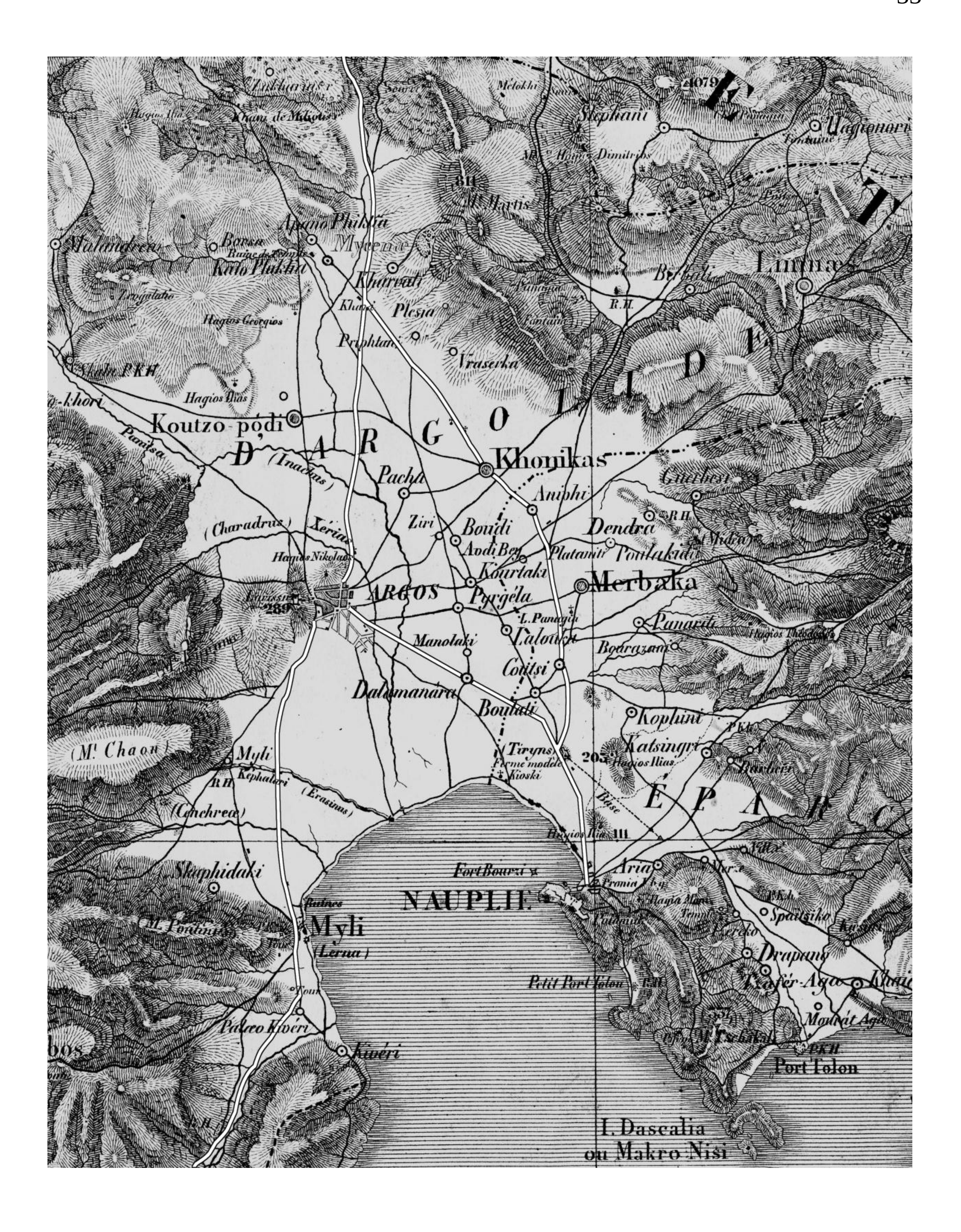
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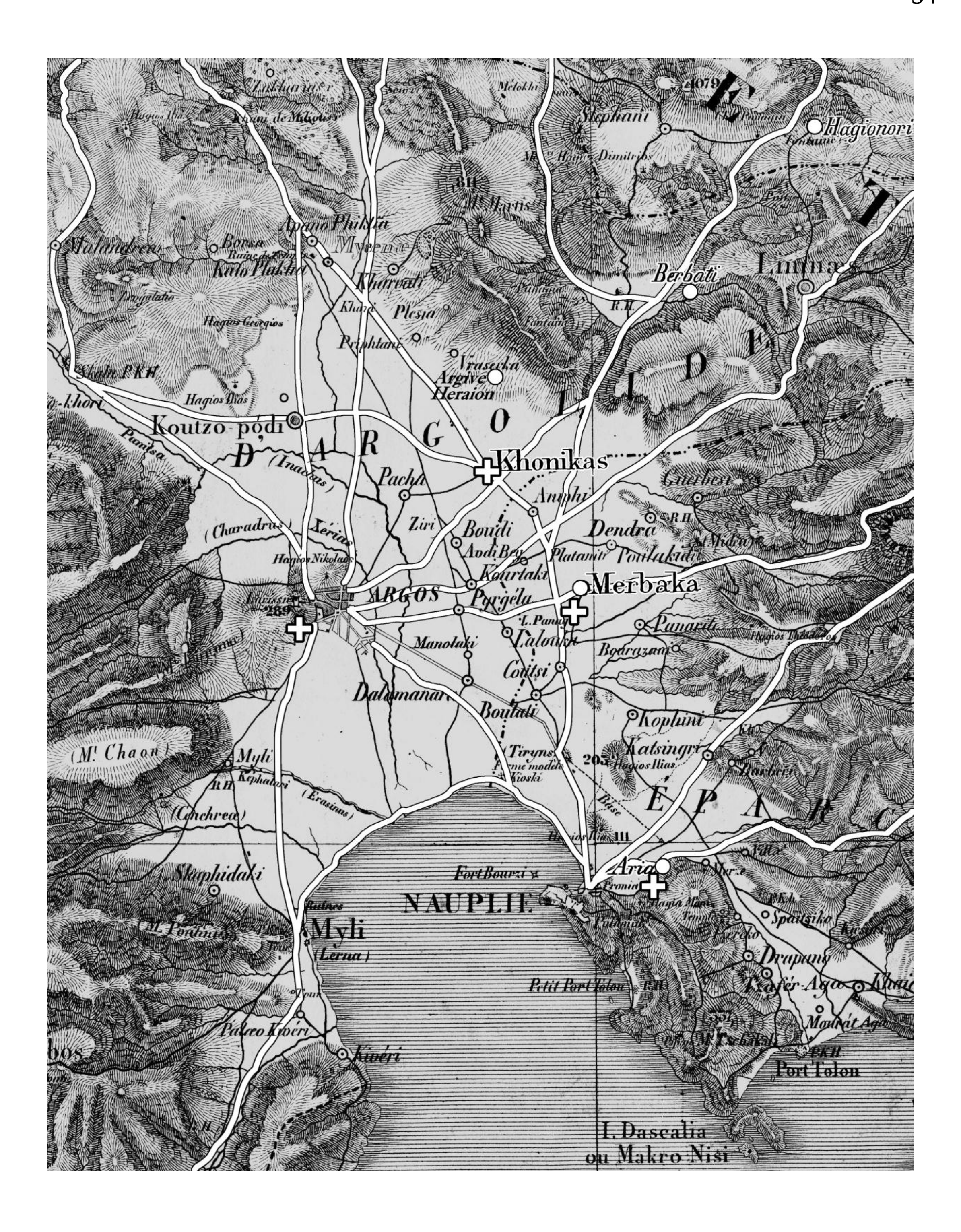
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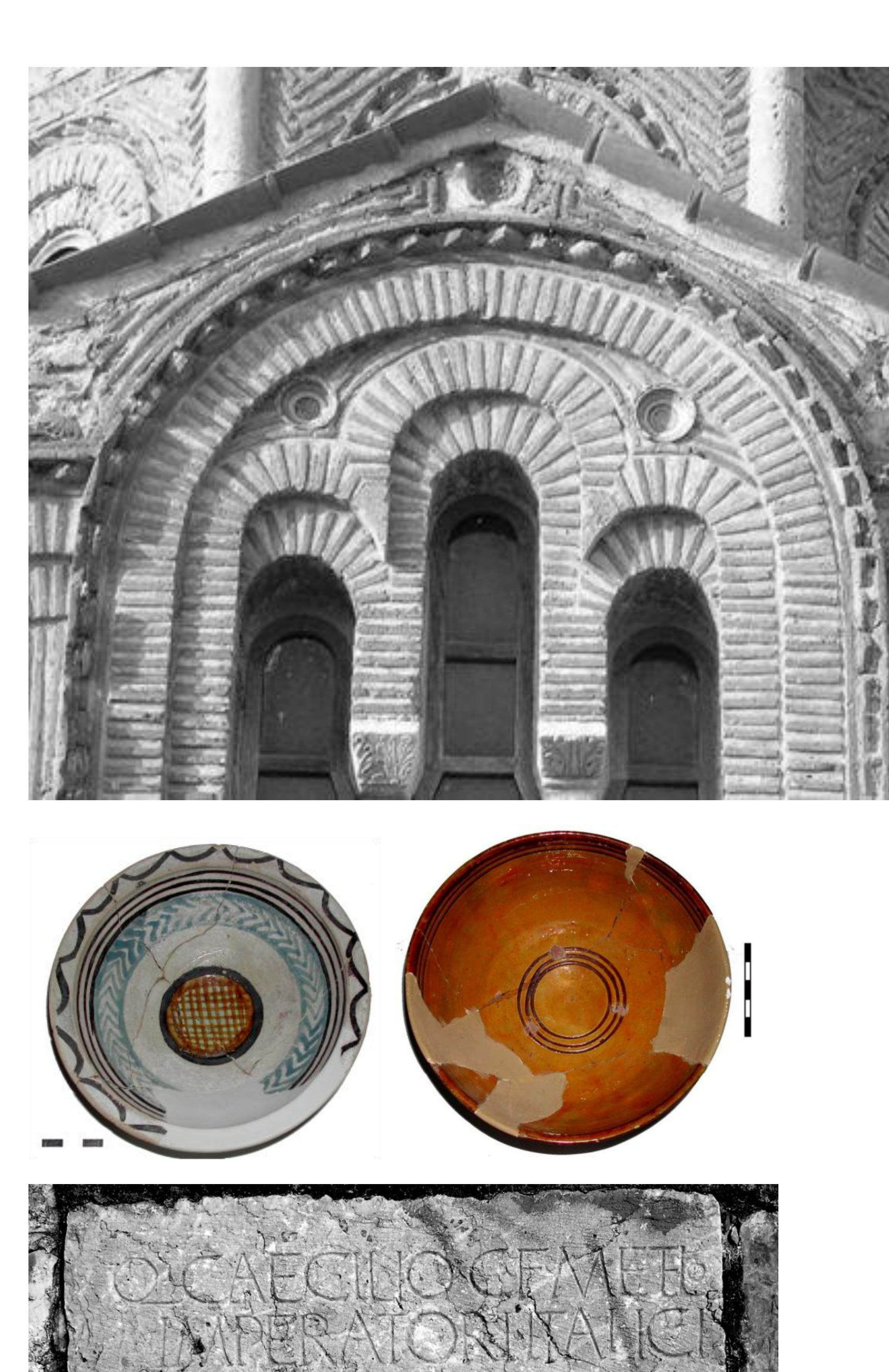





Merbaka
0 1 5m.


Koutzo podi
Khonikas
Merbaka
ARGOS
NAUPLIE
Myli
(Lerna)
Kivéri
Palæo Kiveri
Skaphidaki
(M.t Chaon)
Port Tolon
I. Dascalia
ou Makro Nisi
Tiryns
Pacha
Ziri
Boudi
Kourtaki
Pyrgela
Manolaki
Dalamanara
Boulati
Dendra
Koplini
Katsingri
Aria
Drapano
Aniphi
Plesia
Kharvati
Malandrea
Fort Bourzi
Petit Port Tolon


Hagionori
Stephani
Anano Phikia
Mycenae
Kato Phikia
Kharvati
Malandreni
Limnes
Berbati
Argive Heraion
Vraseka
Koutzo-podi
Khonikas
Pachi
Anaphi
Dendra
Boudi
Merbaka
ARGOS
Pyrgela
Manolaki
Laloukis
Koutsi
Dalamanara
Boulati
Kophini
Katsingri
Tiryns
(Mt. Chaon)
Myli
Kephalari
(Erasinus)
(Inachus)
(Charadrus)
(Cenchreae)
Skaphidaki
Myli
(Lerna)
Kiveri
Paleo Kiveri
Fort Bourzi
NAUPLIE
Aria
Pronia
Drapano
Port Tolon
Petit Port Tolon
I. Dascalia
ou Makro Nisi
Panariti
Bedrazani
Platanitz
Poulakida
Gurbesi


Q CAECILIO C F METEL
IMPERATORI ITALICI
QVEI ARGEIS NEGOTIA

